[illegible] began. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger, and boys when they approach seventeen. Seventeen prohibiting intercourse are not consistently recognized. A number of youths say that they would not have intercourse with a girl who is menstruating; they will, however, permit a girl in this condition to masturbate them. Other boys deny such an [illegible] or the value a condom with a menstruant. Men are generally reluctant to have intercourse with a girl who is feared to be venereally diseased, but will do so if condoms are available. "French ticks," as condoms are locally designated, were largely secured from soldiers and construction workers during Highway construction but are now sold by one of the independent traders who secures them through truck drivers hauling from Dawson Creek. Coitus is not avoided before a hunting trip, in fact a man who expects to be away hunting for some time may make a point of securing intercourse before leaving.

[illegible] When questioned, some of the younger men are keenly interested in describing their sexual partners. They measure each time in attaining sexual orgasm or copulating with three and four different girls in a single night. Sexual capacity is also spoken of as the ability to "wear out" a girl. One story is told of three boys who volunteered a girl by having intercourse with her twice each. Boys will reveal the names of their sexual partners only to close friends, and even this is not without a moment. From observation it is apparent that much of this conversation tends to exaggerate the frequency of coitus. It is probable that in summer an unmarried man has intercourse about once in seven or ten days. Since there are fewer unmarried girls available for this purpose, the frequency of coitus is considerably greater for this sex, averaging perhaps three or four times a week in summer for postmenarcheal young women. Along with the high value accorded to sexual capacity goes a concern for the size of the penis, a large organ being regarded as desirable and commendable.

[illegible] Then the male's interest in sexual capacity and genital size may point to a fear of impotence evidenced by sexual collapse from old abuse was thirty-two year old man. He was reported to suffer from acute impotence on two occasions. In an interview with the ethnographer, he once denied that neither darkness with age, affirming that some old men are "strongest for girls" than young men. In a dream reported before specific reports of his impotency had been obtained, he told of being in the company of his brother when he was attacked by a grizzly bear. "My gun stuck. I got nervous. I try to take shot at him, My gun got no power. Then BBB [name] was gone. . . . I take all shells and put new shells in. Gun not worked. He don't bite me. I get mad at grizzly bear. I holler at him. 'You better get away or I let you with shot gun.' " The informant ended to deny the interpretation equating the gun with the penis and the dream's situation with sexual incapacity. The reporter was incredulous, however, the man seeing that to kill a dangerous animal in a dream was a promise of effectively combating illness. "You kill him, don't lucky. You're silly . . . you're not going to die. Gun is good thing when you're dreaming."

[illegible] Acute impotence under the influence of alcohol was denied by several informants, who reported an unbroken effect from liquor and beer.

[illegible] Briefly, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls. Parents, when they venture to speak of the matter, warn girls to avoid sexual relations before marriage, citing the dangers of illegitimacy and venereal infection. Such behavior may also be criticized, scolded, or otherwise punished. One girl, thirteen, who was showing a tendency

dark possession of power, owing it to the agency of animals. As men so could be learned, power (which is sometimes called "medicine") denotes that the person is under the protection of an animal supernatural on whose assistance he can rely. Any animal or plant land can become such familiar as an individual, who may solicit their interest by ordering himself to the task. Apparently, however, purposeful ardency is not essential in order to obtain supernatural help, a person sometimes receiving an indication of such assistance without any effort on his part. The acquisition of power is signalled by a vision or, perhaps, a dream in which an animal manifesting human attributes speaks to the individual. Sometimes a vision is not readily forthcoming even when ardently and may in fact descend to Yiddy who said: "Some people go way to South down. One medicine. I can't make it, me. I'm too young. I'm just my first time. Nothing on me ... Something don't want me." He was not benefited on account of the lack of success.

A different type of supernatural power are that is more readily called down, possessed and used protection. This may be acquired through possession of religious specialties like sweat lodge, prayer bundle and rosaries. Many people carry such objects on their persons wherever they have many. Dave Yiddy said that he would request the "heaven man to give some for me and wife. Greedy how can't believe their sins. Everybody say that way. I believe him." Concerning his vision the informant added that a couple would die long a distant away from a man's wife. It would protect both the husband and woman from sexual aggression. A few weeks later Yiddy was seen wearing a rosary around his neck. Small gospels distributed by the priest are also carefully kept. Frederic (recently ordained) a scientific "Bible man" on certain men of these other religions.

Occasionally occurrences are interpreted as resulting from a favorable disposition on the part of the supernatural environments. Thus a man may ascribe his luck in killing a moose to the fact that he had the cooperation of the animal realm. Many such cases, however, references to luck are simply offhand mentions of a fate whose character the individual is not troubled to analyze.

Two sorts of distinction are possible for the spirit to the afterlife. For those whose lives were free from evil there is heaven and everlasting happiness; for the evil there is hell. Just as heaven is identified with God, hell is considered with the devil. This conclusion of an afterlife with the ascription of the spirit's earthly career is not perfect, however, since regardless of his conduct, any person killed by a grizzly bear must go to the bear's "earthly" —the devil. Although hell is recognized as an unpleasant place, few people admitted very evidence fear of it.

The idea of passing for the welfare of the dead is known to some informants as a result of church attendance. One suggests the beginnings of belief in a third, compulsory state of spiritual existence (purgatory).

Alongside the idea of spiritual immortality exists a belief in reincarnation, the return of the spirit as a child who, as he grows older, recognizes the world as a place where he has already been. One or two children have maintained who had revealed that they had experienced

Several forms of divination are practiced more or less exclusively by a few Indians. Sometimes the bones in a fire may be interpreted in order to foretell the results of a prospective

[illegible]

787 [illegible] Seek. Seeing the motion of a game animal, like the moose, in the way previous successful hunting. Another watch is said to determine how many lives (or any other specified for animal) will be found in a person's eggs." The watch is executed by winding a string around a smooth round stick something in prescribed directions and then placing the apparatus under one's pillow for several hours, after which the string is unwound. If, instead of killing flies, the string is found looped around the stick one or more times, the practitioner is promised that number of gifts.

Dreams of luck are more numerous than signs of misfortune. Thoroughly positive good fortune, meaning the receipt of good news, flowing would also provide an omen. "When you think of something and fire smoke," Old Man said, "That's ghost telling you 'yes' or 'no.' He knows your mind." In other words, the sound of the fire [illegible] a confirmation in the listener's mind. Another omen is the coughing of a woman's breasts. "This provision often produces the good omens of a woman's long chaste one or of some other relatives." Many dreams are premonitions of good and bad luck. The unpleasant [illegible] of dreaming will be more fully discussed below. Sometimes dreams of hunting include a timeline list of creatures; the dreamer then knows that he has received a communication from the animal realm and that if he hunts in the locale shown in the dream he will certainly meet success.

Friends [illegible] every person has one or more older relatives whose dreams and powers of interpretation prophecy he respects. In the community as a whole these people might be consulting as prophets, but their own family and immediate relatives listen to the revelations with great seriousness and frequently instill awareness on which predictions were validated. Persons telling [illegible] portents or omens like the arrival of visitors, the conception of a child, or the arrival of friends. Old Knee was exceptional in expressing a predilection for more extensive prophecy, a tendency which was largely ignored by everyone except his grandson. "Two by dream" [illegible] "you and him" the world would again disappear, as it once did, in a flood. All the Indians would be wiped out in that disaster and white men would rule over the country. Fullest of the Indians deserved such punishment. Old Knee allowed this and and chuckled to the fact that numerous relatives had made the people "all mixed up." A [illegible] previously he had questioned that the then current was would "clean out" the white men. "Something from their radio waves, big rain, and ground," he guessed now. "Two days was going a month and in the world, particularly the end of whatever killing.

784 Many supernatural awareness underlying and explaining avoidances and observed a [illegible] lessons have been lost, and it is quite likely that most of these commandments or ceremonies will be disconcerned. Still held by some people is the belief that to [illegible] dream a woman, or fallen there is some on the ground across the tongue of death. Another [illegible] belief is women or birds can [illegible] the victim loses before drinking a sweetdrink, she [illegible] will emerge from the process. The last mentioned one is not even [illegible] [illegible] has another person the two already have acquaintance. Those men who have acquired supernatural powers from animals observe a taboo on eating of or some part of the animal

[illegible]

[illegible]

Yawning is a sign of anger or disapproval. Yawning could not be explained to the informant until, in fact, one was observed among the Dobu.

Yawning and vomiting were an ostensible symptoms of a cold, although evening consultants indicated that a person will receive guidance. The nasal discharge originates between the eyes or the back of the nose. A running nose is preferred to nasal congestion and consequent destruction of tissues, which may, it thought, lead to death.

Yawning evoke and coincide reactions, sweeping regarded as caused by sadness and depression. Vomiting is a voluntary response with digestive and sexual overtones. Bringing to the eyes unconscious a phenomenon likely to occur with a meal or too much alone, but may also be produced by unconscious one wise. "Seeing red" may be brought about by excessive heat or a disordered stomach as, for example, a stomach poisoned from bad water.

We often of shame or embarrassment are reactions most and reactions, a person feeling free embarrass to blowngh, sweat, or sex, although one people refrain from sporting, as a sudden flush. There a sense self-consciousness about laughing in a strange camp, for fear that the people will consider the response "dirty" pathogenic. Hiccoughing is the result of an uncontrolled stomach, which causes some food pledge in the esophagus, blocking the passage of wind and causing air to be taken in large gulps gulps. Hiccoughing is sometimes regarded as an omen of good luck, promising more to eat. No means is known for relieving this condition. Sneezing is a sign of hunger, but may on be a product of hunger and consequent weakness. It is viewed by a sign of sex. Spying is regarded as robbing a person of some innate essence by the eye and mouth. No evidence has already been discussed. Consciously or unconscious of the donor, such a way are from smoking, leads to coughing, although sometimes this reaction originates from disturbed stomach. Swallowing the "wrong way" is dangerous, because it may result in fat being carried into the lungs where it may decay. "germs were now die."

Vocalization, or speech ability, appears when a child becomes half years. Shortly after birth, however, a mother may urge her baby longer until the baby's mouth to posses that the child will use to make. As the child grows, he tries to make meaningful sounds and finally, utterances and "begins to imitate words used by the parents. In this way language is acquired by such successive generations. It people believe their own language seems to have been forgotten."

Digestion is primarily processed by the stomach ending up food. The sometimes continues the digestive process by further grinding. Gizzard-like if, for any reason, the digestive ability of the stomach becomes impaired. Digestion gives the blood—"cleans" it. If this

"A methodological account of the origin of linguistic theories found by Hale, a interesting because of the fact that it is based on direct observations of the Micmacs Indians of Canada. The work followed (especially all the proper names) were not forgotten and have even now their gods. They gated a game structure up in the air having it with the fire. Then the child would throw a stone, trying to hold the stone on the following day and run through the fire. Among the eight the child was not gone collapsed. "They can't make it up there. They can't make. The old men were watching. Sometimes one will then follow, he can't make understand nothing that one say. Another fellow say, they'll say nothing. If men different talk." Gradually groups of people separated and might the mother the language if any of it remained. These groups are began to develop a different language and more further, and began new languages. On this view are the Cree and Wolf Indians developed and the Indian Iroquois languages from one people.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

being derived primarily from perception, is checkable on perception or upon new data.* Empirical knowledge, if true, leads to prediction and control. The success of these processes furnishes pragmatic proof of the validity of empirical beliefs. Deduction, of which syllogism is an example, is knowledge derived primarily by conception. Since purely deductive knowledge involves premises not derived from perceptual experience, such beliefs are not readily altered.

Inductive reasoning underlies many of the Kaska Indians' beliefs that guide behavior in the exploitative and technical aspects of the culture. The people have observed, for example, that martens remain in one region and do not travel indeterminately like the fox or lynx. This empirical datum opens the possibility of control of the animal; martens may be more efficiently trapped by trapping them in the same area annually or they may be conserved by protecting them from trapping for several years. Other examples of empirical thought in Kaska society, some of them absurdly simple, are listed:

> A fire will thaw frozen ground.
> Wire garments on body parts are fatal to very cold weather.
> Scratching an infected skin spreads the area of infection.
> Blood endangers life if it enters the stomach.
> Death follows the stoppage of the heart and pulse beats.
> Old age reduces a person's stamina.
> Rock wood is hard and therefore suitable for a toboggan.
> Babiche is strong and useful for furnishing a firm lashing.
> Dogs need more food when they work hard.

Reasoning which is primarily deductive is the basis of other concerning science and dreams. In these cases a traditional belief is accepted as an unalterable premise from which certain events are assumed to follow. Many examples may be given. To drink water before smoking a cigarette results in a sore back; to dream of a sexual encounter promises female guests on a male heavier blood circulates through the entire body and, since the little finger is the narrowest of the body, all blood must pass through this point. Any ordered failure of the expected behavior to follow in these sequences is usually not sufficient to influence the acceptance of belief in the premises. Failure in the occurrence of expected sequences are also readily overlooked. On the other hand, when the expected sequence does occur, this occurrence may be emphasized as evidence of the validity of the premise.*

* Scientific method, then, is merely a special form of cognition in which purposefully derived knowledge is formally tested. As Kaufman has pointed out, scientific method is a peculiar subdivision of western society. Its premises, however, the basis of scientific method, is worldwide in its distribution, although particular societies probably differ in the degree to which they rely on other industries or industries. See Kaufman, The Psychological Structure of Science (1949), pp. 1-2; White, The Analysis of Social Change (1949), pp. 1-2; Hallowell, Some Empirical Aspects of Northern Saulteaux Religion (1934).

* Dogs distinguishes three rational processes in Lithuanian society: empirical (or non-scientific), magical, and empirical (which he calls scientific). The Lithuanian, he points out, do not discriminate between empirical and magical explanations of the universe, but they do distinguish between supernatural and natural. We find it worth emphasizing that all of these forms of thinking proceed logically or rationally. It is likely that such distinctions

[126 717] Unconscious motivation. Dreams for the Kaska are not consciously motivated at the will of the subject and are, therefore, to be classified as unconscious behavior. The native interpretation of dreams is primarily mystical, which dreaming is regarded as affording a glimpse into the immediate future, and is thought to be produced by the spirit of the dreamer traveling abroad from the body thereby encountering destiny. Sometimes a full stomach promotes dreaming. According to Old Isbin, a dream is easy to remember, "If you lie in one position; if you turn around you forget."

Two categories of dreams are distinguished by the Kaska, good and bad. The former promise something desirable that will soon occur to the dreamer, and there are certain universal dream situations and symbols which are always interpreted as indicating that a person will soon secure meat, fish or fur. Thus Shaw Donnelly once said, "I dream for fish . . . I set fish net, that's the way I dream." Asked the meaning of the dream, he replied: "I think lucky for skin that woman." Louise Isbin reported: "I dream I see meat; a cow moose. Put meat." She paused and added: "Soon you see fur meat."[6] Bad dreams represent situations and symbols which frighten the subject or indicate impending misfortune. Thus to dream of water portends danger of a person drowning, anyone dreaming in this way is well advised to stay away from a river or lake for some time. To dream about gophers or grounding indicates that the dreamer will soon go hungry. Bad dreams are often sensory dreams and may be motivated by current fears and illness. Mrs. Isbin woke up gasping after dreaming that she had fallen in the water. She had been ill with a severe cold for some time and both she and her husband had been worried. Dreaming of a grizzly bear is a frequently encountered, socially patterned sensory dream which is sometimes interpreted as indicating the approach of cold weather. To dream of an airplane also promises "bad day coming." Young girls are particularly likely to have sensory dreams featuring attacks by grizzly bears or by strange men. The significance of this experience will be explored in connection with Kaska ethos.

The manifest contents of Kaska dreams is often easy to discover, as the following examples indicate. Early in October 1944 returned from Louis Isbin's settlement to Old Isbin's place in order to follow Old Isbin and the latter's sons-in-law to a stretch of barren hilly country, where the people planned to hunt moose. Upon arrival Nida told the ethnographer "I dream for moose, horse kill. They go this way. Isbin, I go behind. Ahead people go. They kill moose. Last night I dream that." The manifest content here reflects the purpose for which Nida was to set out on the following day. A week-fulfillment element is sometimes also quite clear in some dreams. Most dreams of moose and fish are probably representative of a desire for these foods or for good fortune in general. The degree to which Kaska dreams are amenable to analysis by other psychoanalytic concepts of dream dynamics will be apparent when a number of dreams have been studied in connection with other expressions of the dominant motivations of Kaska personality. In general, it may be pointed out, Kaska dreams

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of thought are to subtle symbol a other contents. The whole field of unconscious thinking (or, more broadly, unconscious philosophy) needs more attention. Emge, The Inherent Thought-Pattern of the Native, in Schmitz et Gusde Jenness (1944).

[6] It is interesting that Jenness shows correspondence also regards dreams of fish and fishing as signs of good future success. The Kaska, however, see dreaming the opposite (unfavorable) omen, while, Jenness apparently (Jenness-Macfarlane [1925], 200).

1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nelson ND12

present no unusual problems as far as the application of European and American derived explanatory concepts is concerned.*

Abnormal states. In this section attention will be directed to exercises arising as a result of the disorganization of the processes by which individuals normally adjust to reality. We will consider some processes of disorganization produced by alcohol and mental illness. A characteristic form of manic-like behavior occurs under conditions of alcoholic intoxication and may be superficially compared to running amok. The following examples are from field notes.

1943-45 (Lower Post). An Indian woman had been drinking most of the night with whites and Metis in the morning she walked into the ethnographer's cabin, walking too deeply. She had been defended and emotionally she appeared to be in a state of extreme agitation. She half fell, half threw herself on the floor alongside our bedding and began sobbing and swearing incoherently. Following attempts to comfort her, she finally quieted down and presented herself to be fed breast. She swore had a few drinks have taken all then she walked out of the house in her petticoat and unchanged feet. Sobbing anew she walked into the house of a nearby white man and, climbing into his bed, began to take out to on top of him. The man tried to urge her out of the building but she would not be persuaded. Instead she began to plead, saying: "You were full blooded Indian! You like a full blood Indian? I like you." This began to annoy the white man who swore in anger and ordered her out of his house. At this point the woman reacted with even greater rage and began a stream of obscenity which provoked the man to try to push her out the open door. Once more the ethnographer and his wife sought to calm the woman and finally succeeded in bringing her home. All attempts to get her to bed were resisted. She was by now tired and disappointed in white. Another white man came into the house and she began to direct excessive affection toward him, calling him "brother-in-law." With great tact this man escaped the attention and the woman was finally persuaded to go to bed. She now sought to avoid a new rage by a white trapper who could supply her with liquor. At the same time massive evil drama appeared in her behavior. She began to cry and told the ethnographer's wife not to believe what her husband, that she wasn't worth any attention. She also revealed how a white man had forced her very sore her home the previous evening and warned she take a few drinks. It was not long before her resistance to drinking had broken down. After this period of self-recrimination she fell asleep.

At the day progressed the distressed woman secured more liquor until she finally wound up in the restaurant where, becoming abusive, she had to be told to leave. For a long time she could not be found but in the evening a boy informed the ethnographer that she was sleeping under some willows in a downpour of rain. When discovered she was suffering from severe chills and complained of a painful headache. Otherwise she was quite subdued except for occasional moaning. After eating hot tea, soup, and aspirin she went to sleep.

1943-45 (Lower Post). During playful sexual advances made by Edward Peters toward Peter Tree, the latter suddenly became angry, seized Edward, and in a few seconds was holding him in the crook of his arm. Peter called on Edward to surrender, while the latter sought to slip his fingers into the opponent's back. When Old Miss and Miss Miss pulled Peter off, the result

* The conclusions following above from Indian women and those incorporating the Eskimo myth in the Kaska data. Like Indian women, Kaska discussing women were indifferent as well as modest. Informants say women, the Kaska like the Indian and women unashamedly often open the smallest contacts but do not generally condone meetings that are opposite from the sexes. Smallest contacts Norway, Religion and sex in Indian Canada, etc.

function and take on dominant values by authoritarian decision. This behavior impairs the individual's value of difference by causing him considerable disapproval and dislike. Another dimension, in the few Karla individuals where it occurs, is too complex for analysis simply as a device for reinforcing self-esteem and independence by controlling other people in much the same way as the normal personality seeks to control the natural environment. In addition, the dominant man in the society may be a particularly aggressive person who, contrary to social expectations, was freely released hostility. Nevertheless, despite these considerations men like John Evans, Peter Long, and Harry Long may have their dominant parts reinforced as following from a failure to project the desire for personal availability. Instead they attempt to carry over into social relationships egocentrically motivated demands for personal control.

From what has been said, it is apparent that egocentricity motivates the characteristic individualism of the Karla Indians. Despite being expressed in the economic social structure, we find this core extended into the games which people play. From organization a volleyball very to the popular stick game, teams being little more than a series of individuals playing together. Situations for against single persons on the opposite side and otherwise manifest little tendency to adhere to a group. It remains to be seen how competitive sports may eventually become integrated into such a personality setting.

Egocentricity also finds expression in sex, sexual relations being unanimously described with successful learning and sexual potency with feelings of general capacity and mastery. The evidence for the relationship of self-assertion to sex is indicated in the socially perceived interpretation of sexual dreams. Referring to a dream characterized by his sex-to-love's sexual action toward a woman, Sadie Wilcox, Old Man said, "I look the Sadie as we all day—I more natural." He explained, saying, "If you dream you play with girl and then have, you kill a [female] animal." In other words, on the day following the dream Old Man looked the game as the dream over. The relationship of sex to self-assertion will be more extensively discussed below.[1]

Egocentricity is men and women. We have described the operation of egocentricity as behavior which seeks to maximize independence, self-interest, and responsibility. Attention will now be directed to the relative development of egocentricity in the sexes.

The ethnographic data have already revealed that some women show a tendency to emulate the roles of men and to anticipate unfavorably the state of motherhood, that is, favor a appearance of masculine striving and suggest considerable self-assertion. Although in marriage women are generally content to permit husbands to emphasize important action and are prepared to offer a number of personal comforts which men do not reciprocate, married women still continue to seek opportunity for realizing their capacities through learning and mapping. Widows show little immediate motivation to remarry but are often possessed of sufficient initiative and resourcefulness to support themselves independently. All these data express a considerable degree of feminine individualism and independence. There are evidences that, like men, women are also motivated by egocentric striving. A few feminine behaviors suggest how egocentricity for their sex. Women, in common to men, have

[1] We believe we may ask for the relationship of Old Man's being reported a dream of sexual pressure to the evidence of his personality failure, p. 501.

seem in the future. Asked what he would do in, say, five years, Vikki replied in a manner suggesting that the whole notion of preparing himself for the future was incomprehensible. "I don't know," he said. "Sometimes I want something. Five years ago I want something. Sometimes a year I want something. Sometimes nothing. I wouldn't think about it. I don't figure on anything." The question was repeated and the subject echoed it, speaking half to himself. Then: "One I Know. I never think about it. I just look to see . . . five years now I'm seven thirty. I'm hungry . . . " In other words, Vikki is emotionally bound to the tangible reality of the present. Whatever the future is remote, its unpredictable evolving a vague but dishonest of unproductive effort. Here, now, are the problems which he is best equipped to solve and that are most important.

The weak emotional values exerted upon the subjective personality by the future, extend to the scope of native divinations and revelations. In these situations, especially with regard to visitations and dreaming, we find an expression of concrete immediate realities. For example, the many ways in supporting the powers of a wraith, the people wanting for some a supplies which he will bring from the resting place. It is in such a case that a person can experience a dream or vision pertaining to the wraith's powers. Similarly a person who has planned to have the following day is encouraged by relatives with optimistic predictions of success. The only exception of large scale prophecy came from Old Kiowa, and his movements already pointed out, was one with little popular emotional interest.[4]

Repression in the Rorschach test situation. One divination has described withdrawal, practical and concrete thinking. Several Rorschach criteria may be regarded as indications of such a mode of orientation. Pointing to the percentage of animal associations as one index of "adaptive thinking on a perceptual level," Beck goes on to say: "The percentage of animal associations to the successes of the children (a) is an index of them, and also (b) is how the personal economy from this mature level of activities."[5] Animal responses have several properties in the Rorschach and not only in specifically practical aspects of living. Eligible and Sioux adults with this index they show a high percentage of animal responses to a common range of materials.[6] The use of animal responses to an index to a testimonial dreaming exercises in practicality and the concrete poses another question. Would not a people closely familiar with an animal environment tend to give more animal responses than a people in an urban area, whose perceptual experiences is with people? Hallowell did not find this to occur among the Berthoud, where the more animal per cent obtained by him (p<0) compares closely with that which has been found in western cultures, namely, 40.5% per cent 30.5%, 41.8%.[7] The figure for Sioux adults, on the other hand, is significantly in excess of these figures being 56 per cent. Homogeneity is indicated for the Sioux, since only five of the nineteen adult subjects produced fewer than fifty per cent animal associations. The consequences

[4] One example gives a curious, interesting approximate in that the history of the Kiowa is partly parallel to that of the Sioux in that recently prevented Kiowans (prophetic) worked in a common point of dreams from the Kiowans prophets in order to receive personal interviews and transfer the Kiowa [illegible]

[5] Beck, Rorschach's Test, II: A Variety of Personality Pictures (1945), 60.

[6] Eligible and Sioux, The Rorschach Technique (1945), 210-218.

[7] Hallowell, The Rorschach Technique in the Study of Personality and Culture (1945), 204; Beck, Rorschach's Test, II: A Variety of Personality Pictures (1945), 60.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

partition that Indian youths should be conscripted to fight and wondered how the government could utilize men to kill, at the same time evading the responsibilities which the white society demands for murder. The government, he opined, was "not smart. He send his boy to the war. . . . Too smart, you gotta hold his boy. Then damn good, number one government. He want to make try lots of fun . . . the Jesus, He can't send to war his boy. . . ." Another youth ascribed the cause of the dysentery outbreak to the bloodshed that the war was fostering.

The hostility component. It is well recognized that a certain component of hostility is an inevitable concomitant of the socialization process, and that throughout the subsequent life of an individual additional frustrating or anxiety provoking conditions may strengthen this component. It is also necessary to recognize that a motive like deference may further reinforce the hostility component when it does not permit aggressiveness sufficient opportunity for discharge. Accumulated aggressiveness comes into conflict with deference and is repressed. The repressed hostility provides an area for further-reducing anxiety which, in turn, creates fresh hostile impulses—and so on, in a vicious circle.* We will now investigate the manner in which this largely unconscious hostility component is kept in check and the conditions under which control is abrogated.

The very fact of repression indicates that aggressive impulses are intolerable to the ego and therefore denied. That individuals deny their hostility is evident from the conscious attitudes strongly stressing the ideal of warm human relations and condemning violence. Dreams often reveal quite a different sense of thinking. In a person like Old Isbin, who is frequently occupied in forestalling drunken aggression and who enjoys a reputation for pacificity, there are many examples of dreams expressing unconsciously motivated hostility. One example may be given here.

> 10-11-43 (Old Isbin's Place). "I dream that Mrs. Louis Isbin couldn't talk no more. They figger her tongue was tied up. And River Joe said: 'John [the ethnographer] getting poor and kids getting poor. He never eat!' he told me. 'They eat.' 'I hear they're starving.' 'No, they get grub yet.' He start to tell me about that woman, Mrs. Isaac. 'Ho!' I told him. 'Because his mother died that's why old women look after him. I'm not that much crazy!' Function dream I ever had."
>
> Old Isbin was asked if he had dreamed of the current Mrs. Isbin.
>
> "No, Louis Isbin first wife. She talk, she talk. Finally his mouth quit. Just fell down. I told Mrs. Isaac—she want to help—I say: 'Don't help. Maybe she get some kind of fortune.' You know, some people sister dreams. They just drop . . . . After I see my son. Short son, just as long as boat. I just get one windshield." (What kind of woman was the first Mrs. Isbin?) "Mean woman." Old Isbin denied that she had ever been mean to him. "Just mean to his husband."

This dream occurred on a night when, in order to arrange transportation to Lower Post and to pick up seriously needed additional food, the ethnographer's wife with Old Isbin's daughter, Louise, and Elsie Long were absent from the settlement to visit Louis Isbin. The ethnographer's food supply was low and for several days house had been subsisted from Old Isbin, who was also feeding his son-in-law's mother, Lady Sam, whose own mother had died a month previously. In the dream Louis Isbin's first wife loses her voice while her

* A more extensive theoretical formulation of these principles will be found in Honigmann, Culture and Personality, 1954.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1963-1965) 1999 ND12 Nahane ND12

father, River Joe, suggests that the ethnographer's family looks ill fed. Here we see Old Man's anxious anticipation of the gossip which will be set in operation when the women reach Louie's place and ask for food. River Joe will surely seize upon this lack of food as a sign that Old Man did not take proper care of his white visitors. Old Man knew that Louie and River Joe both had warned the ethnographer about the "poor place" Old Man had to offer. The dream therefore expresses an aggressive wish that his enemies' tongues should become unable to gossip. By reference to the principle of condensation, we understand the first Mrs. Mann to stand for her father, River Joe, for her husband, and for her sister, the present Mrs. Mann. The first Mrs. Mann was "mean"; this fact helps to explain her selection by the dream work as an attempt to characterize all of her relatives as unpleasant people. The evil nature of gossip is revealed in the association to the divided sister. Up to this point the dream serves to express Old Man's fear of hostility as well as the accompanying aggression against his enemies.

But the dream also refers to Lady Sam. Apparently (in the dream) River Joe had insinuated that Old Man was cohabiting with this woman. During the previous summer, River Joe had unsuccessfully attempted to secure Lady Sam as his wife. Now Old Man "has" her, at least in the sense that she is sharing his house. Old Man, however, often complained about this woman eating his grub. Is this dream then also an expression of guilt because of his lack of generosity? That suggestion gains support when the conjunction of Lady Sam and the ethnographer is considered. Old Man sin clothing under this woman's stay in his home but the ethnographer is also borrowing food which Old Man cannot refuse to lend. In the dream he reserves both the woman's and the ethnographer's desire on his limited resources, but feels guilty about his covetousness and also dreads being gossiped about as a stingy host. The denial of sexual interest stands for a denial of general, emotional interest in Lady Sam's well being, an interest that Old Man cannot afford to develop. The episode of the short rest, which is a reference to Old Man's reduced powers as a food getter, adds more to the interpretation. He accuses only one wholefolk. That being the case, how can he be expected to provide for so many people? The last note in the dream, therefore, recognizes the essential and unavoidable truth in the gossip (Old Man's settlement was short of grub), which Old Man would like to stop, figuratively by tying up his enemies' mouths.

In Kaska society intoxication often results in the release of a portion of the hostility component, and for a number of men such behavior can usually be accurately predicted. Under alcohol external controls largely disappear, so that an individual is sometimes overwhelmed by the excitement of his unharnessed impulses. This theory explains the outbursts of rage, hostility, and catastrophic reactions that sometimes appear with drinking and of which many people in the community are afraid. Generally, however, drunkenly expressed hostility is not completely undirected. A additional measure of control over the libido excitement is maintained, and for this reason drunken aggression is usually focussed upon the continuation of past quarrels, traditional enemies, fancied aggressors, or (on sometimes happens) strangers within the tribal district. It is also noticeable that, following a prolonged series of hostile attacks, swearing, and violence, aggression is finally directed toward the self. A number of men and women were observed who, at the height of intoxication, began to moan, sob, cry for their mothers, or wildly condemned themselves for being "no good."

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

unity and was even physically threatened by John. Any further attempt to assert himself was now blocked, as much by Old Man's high regard for deference as by his passivity. In the following dream Old Man reveals his anxiety; he expresses his hostility to John by transferring its functions to a stranger and more capable person.

9-3-40 (Old Keet's Place). "I dream a plane land here. Police come out from plane. They tried to slay Nicki's little girl. They figured they'd meet John fighting. 'If he look for fight we'in gonna take him,' they said. 'Go ahead,' I said. They went down. I heard little girl cry. John put his sleeves back and police got him. I woke up. My old lady sit on my feet." The subject denied any assumption of the dream's meaning [unconscious resistance]. "Two Mounted Police come off," he repeated. "We'd like to know John," they say. "We just find out what he's gonna do." They took a long time afterwards .... They grab him, two of them." Old Man then went on to talk of the lack of any medicine to use for his wife's present illness. He said that the ethnographer's bullets cubes had saved Mrs. Man's life the previous year. "When she start bad she like I sit 'long side her all the time. She wouldn't let me go."

The dream portrays Old Man permitting the police (*symbol of authority and strength*) to avenge him with his passive approval. In the associations he denies his hostility and anxiety, appeals to the ethnographer for the latter's sympathy, and tries to relieve his helplessness by the security of his wife's presence.

Sometimes dreams fail to provide any solution for the latent anxiety and feeling of ego inadequacy which they reveal. John Keet's dream mentioned in connection with sexual impotence, provides such an instance. Another anxiety dream, marked by a lack of any assertive solution, is taken from the record of Gerald Leonard (1-4)

1-6-40 (Lower Post). Sometimes I dream something bad come to you, some bad animal. I jump up in bed. No good. Sometimes you dream you got no gun. Bad animal come at you. No good. Jump up in tree.

A denial of anxiety by the conscious repudiation of worry is a familiar pattern among these people and one that prompts white men to affirm that Indians never worry. Old Man, early in the second season of field work, denied that he worried, but projected such emotions into other men. "I never worry about money," he said. "Some people worry, worry. Like to make lots of money, good time in summer. But I never think about anything. Lots of people worry. Louis Man, he's the one worries about money. Old Sean, he worries .... worry ...Nest his country, trap line .... Dick Mountain, he's worry man. ...." Subsequent data indicate quite clearly that Old Man is not blessed with freedom from anxiety although he quite characteristically seeks to minimize the emotion. In Peter Tom's case worry over having spat blood was revealed only during convocation and strongly denied when sober.

The essentially passive nature of flexible responses to crises may be regarded as an answer to threat experienced by the moderately developed Kaska ego. Crisis situations, whether internal (like anxiety) or external to the individual, are themselves largely the products of unassertive ego functions. Their significance as threatening leads to a renewed attempt by the individual to remove himself from the scene of disturbance without radically coming to grips with the problem.

Depression in the Rorschach test situation. In studying expressions of flexibility in the

1: Honigmann: K-8 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

want live by myself," dependence substitutes an unconscious plea for help in living. It is interesting to note, however, that the potential and seemingly inevitable subordination never fully occurs; egocentricity is never wholly abandoned. The divergent goals exist side by side in fundamental incompatibility but with no evidence of incapacitating disharmony. The reason for this apparent unconscious adjustment of the individual lies in several distinguishing features of Kaska dependence. In the first place, the motivation does not involve the surrender of personal initiative to others, except perhaps in old age and illness, when the physical incapacity of the organism necessarily deems the ego's assertive coping techniques. Parents sometimes express ideal dependence on children, but here a speaker is looking to protection in old age and realistically is not surrendering his autonomy. A second reason why the conflict between dependence and egocentricity is not more severe lies in the fact that under the motivating influence of emotional isolation, the unconsciously directed wants for care and protection cannot assume an unequivocal form but must take symbolic guise. Finally, expressions of dependence are not of a kind to humiliate or abase the individual. One can, for example, in Kaska society symbolically demand love and protection in a relatively self-assertive fashion and without betraying too far the believer's fundamental passivity.

As in the case of flexibility, dependence does not function solely when the person is faced with adaptive and adjustive crises, but rather represents a seeking for safety whose press is experienced throughout life. That is to say, unconsciously, passive receptive attitudes are constantly alert in Kaska personality but are repressed under the influence of self-assertive tendencies. It is this readiness for dependence, in association with moderate ego resistive, which quickly sets off reactions of acute passivity when strivings toward self-sufficiency become blocked.

Expression. One of the outstanding forms of dependency motivated behavior may be described as "demandingness," which sometimes takes the form of the individual inviting himself onto people in a position to give. The most direct manifestation of demands is directed toward the government whose regulative functions, it will be recalled, are strongly repudiated. In the cultural background, we have already given a number of examples to illustrate this point. Perhaps the strongest examples of demandingness come from Nels who, having been raised in the relative isolation of Frances Lake, has had few opportunity to come into contact with regulative governmental functions and so can freely express his conception of authority as a provider. In him the typical expression of dependence stresses the "hard time" of the Indians and the consequent responsibility of government to take care of these subjects. The associations to one dream reveal an interesting interweaving of conflicting egocentric and dependency motives.

Nels (Lower Post). "I dream that it's winter time, full time. That much snow [indicates]. I dream . . . Inkwe be I work in winter time. A lucky dream. I get fly next, trap." When asked if the weather is warm full time, Nels agreed and explained: "Inkwe trapping, sometimes lucky dream that way. Inkwe dream that way, he can't die. . . . He feel good. . . . Never know feel bone; feel good." Spontaneously he went on to complain about the noise in Lower Post and how it made a man feel "bum." In Frances Lake Post, on the other hand, things are much quieter, Indians stay in their camps at night and don't constantly walk around. This led to complaints about being "stuck" in Lower Post. The only way for him to rejoin his wife was to get a ride on a

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 131 work going straight through to the Bridge, but he was afraid of taking the wrong truck and so being carried to Watson Lake. "Storeman too, he never give anything. No sugar, nothing. No beans, no raisins, matches, .22 shells . . . anything. Man he need it. Can't make it. By goodness . . . Take [Trading Co.] no good. No give people. . . . Man he get money, he can't get stuck. Man he get the kids, no good. . . . What he gonna say, my kids? Storeman gotta treat everything, all right. Just the same your daddy. Got to give something to eat. . . . Man he kill enough skin, he get a good friend. Man no skin, he get no friend."

Asked for associations to "fly tent" the subject said: "You don't want the snow. You dream about fly tent. . . . You don't want hard time. I got a fly tent up there . . . close to Simpson Lake." Spontaneously Nitla went on to talk about food again. "Just straight flour no good. . . . Make a man feel bum." He emphasized the importance of butter and began to praise a series of white foods, including potatoes, beans, and cheese. Then he appraised chewing tobacco as good. "No tobacco, by goodness, I feel bum."

When his interest began to decline, Nitla was aroused from silence by being asked to talk about his childhood. Following a series of remarks pertaining to food eaten as a child, he went on to describe in detail three accidents he had met with in his youth. When this topic was exhausted, Nitla paused. "What else gonna show you?" No suggestions were offered. He went on to describe the hard life of most Frances Lake Indians. Only a few men are lucky in trapping. He discussed the importance of beaver fur in the Indian economy and then finished the hour by roundly criticizing the government for closing the trapping of beaver. Beaver, he explained, was valuable both for its skin as well as meat; why not close marten, the most of which nobody eats?

157 131 787 Previous to the interview, Nitla had eaten supper with the ethnographer's family. The chain of thinking oscillates between defining the ability of a man to be self-sufficient and the urge to be taken care of. From the associations, it is apparent that these two elements also exist in the dream. The first part of the dream, trapping in fall time, represents the assertive aspect of the personality individualistically striving for survival and comfort. The task, however, is too difficult for the ego, leading to expressions of dependence, like wishing that white men were more generous. Unfortunately, the traders who should be parental protectors, give only after a man has produced fur with which to pay for what he wants. The second element of the dream, the fly tent, introduces the notion of being cared for an protected. "You don't want snow. You dream about fly tent. . . . You don't want hard time." Parenthetically we may note the inadequacy of the symbol chosen to represent protection; a fly tent is a summer dwelling, and only the poorest trapper would use it in cold weather. Associations lead from the tent to the whiteman's food; if this food were abundant, the subject seems to say, the Indian would not have to work so hard for a living. Prodded to speak of childhood, Nitla perseverates on the theme of food (dependence) and switches to accidents, again pointing out his helplessness. Once more he leads himself out of this dependency stratum and speaks of the exigencies of trapping, but his egocentric motivation hesitates and again passive receptive attitudes appear, leading to criticism of the frustrating government.

157 178 It is significant that the Kaska Indian's dependence is largely expressed in terms of receiving food from white men or being well supplied with grub. One explanation for the emotional value of food may be found in the light of dependence. Food represents the pro-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

tected state of childhood, that existed before parents instituted emotional rejection and symbolic of the love and care which were lavished on the helpless baby in the early satisfaction of his elementary needs.[6] We have stated love to be the ultimate goal of dependence. In Nitla we see this expectation directed toward white men—the government, traders, and, indirectly, the ethnographer who had just fed him. Of Nitla's leeching tendency there can be no question. Like several other youths, he always showed up at our house around meal time and never refused to eat. We may conclude that receiving food from white people, or receiving food in general, is unconsciously equivalent to receiving love and security. Psychoanalysts have long maintained that passivity and orality are related; this relationship is well demonstrated in Kaska personality, where passive receptive attitudes represent a means to acquire security and protection without exercise of self-assertion. A similar note is struck in Louis Maza's dream, related when the ethnographer visited his home in September. He dreamed that a white man told him of a creek where gold could be found. The stranger reminded Louis that the latter had often crossed this creek. "There's gold there," the white man said. "You have a pan, use it. Go there." In associating, Louis tried to figure out to which creek the reference applied. Again in this product of unconscious thinking, a white man is pictured as a benefactor. Louis is a relatively insecure person preoccupied with the idea of getting out of debt. In the dream his goals are positively solved, although there is the realistic note that Louis must still find the gold. Indians are not concerned with prospecting for precious metal, so that the occurrence of gold in Louis' dream may have a special but unknown significance for his personality.

During the construction of the Alaska Highway, dependence was inadvertently satisfied by the generosity of American soldiers and civilians who gave the people gifts of cigarettes, food (especially meat), and liquor.[7] The favorable stereotype constructed of Americans may therefore be explained in terms of the significance of their generosity to the Indians. Unfortunately the Canadian soldiers, who subsequently appeared in the area and served for lower pay, have not met the expectations of generosity to which the Kaska had become accustomed. The Indians were already familiar with the traders' lack of generosity, which is founded on a sense of good business. The unfavorable stereotype developed of Canadian soldiers, therefore, represents partly a generalization of experience from Canadian traders to Canadians and is also the product of frustrated expectations.

Closely related to food as a symbol of love is the high value placed on generosity. The language of generosity may be interpreted as: "You are a good person because you give." A demand to receive, founded on passive receptive aims, is implicit in this unconscious definition. It might appear that the demanding dependence of the Kaska, especially as it is expressed toward food, should make a stingy people. Actually we find the Kaska no more stingy than they are spontaneously generous.[8] However, the sharing of grub (not meat)

[6] See Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (1945), 63.

[7] During the Second World War, peoples in many parts of the globe had occasion to benefit from the well paid American soldier's generosity and probably often responded to it with much the same manifest pleasure as the Kaska. It remains to be learned if the unconscious significance of gifts was the same in all of these cases.

[8] For examples of compulsive generosity see the discussion of Harry's personality below, pp. 336–337.

We may point out here that while Kaska society lacks any ritualistic forms of buttressing authority, aboriginally the leaders of a band held people together by their roles as food providers. The early traders recognized some-

1: Hoogmoon E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 MD12 Mahone MD12

137 of agency fathers which combines their attitudes toward sex," among the Kaska this dou-
181 ble is made particularly severe, first, by the threat of unconscious to a personality directed
834 toward emotional closeness and, second, by the chronic readiness to expect failure in any
emotional crisis. Men, therefore, are ambivalent about taking the lead in sex or else do so,
as in rape and much rape, with cruel or symbolic aggression, which is supposed to confirm
their sense of mastery.

137 The unconscious definition of the sexual act, derived from dreams and associations,
181 confirms the impression of the sexual situation as a kind of mock rape. A typical dream of
831 being pursued, similar to others several times reported by girls, comes from Marie Hobart.
787

6:30:43 (Lower Post). "Night before I went to sleep. Tom [her white husband] came home
twelve o'clock. I said: 'I dream that somebody come to my camp. Who are you?' He said, 'Me.'
I got scared and I start to get up. He grabbed me. He said: 'What are you trying to do?' Then
I woke up. He said I start to fight him."

Asked whom she thought came into the camp, Marie said she suspected it was a soldier.
She was excited to talk about soldiers and revealed that on the evening preceding the dream she
had been at the restaurant where one of a group of American soldiers encountered her and tried
to lure her into a truck with the promise of a drink. Marie, however, ran away. She was asked to
say something more about soldiers. "These soldiers Americans, but I don't know who they are.
I like American people. They're always fine people. I like white people. I always liked them.
It must be because there's half-white blood in mine." She admitted that she had always wanted
to be like white people and pointed out, with some pride, that her name did not appear on the
Indian census rolls.

[408]

Marie's dream expresses an ambivalent fear of sexual attack. The fact that the dream
occurs simultaneously with her husband's entrance into the camp is significant, since the
dream thereby juxtaposes the white soldier and Marie's white husband. Further evidence
of ambivalence toward the central idea of the dream, coitus, is revealed in her associations
to American people, whom she likes, and white people, with whom she identifies.

A somewhat similar dream was reported by eleven year old Elsie Lang.

11:30:43 (Old Man's place). "I dream soldier—they drunk." The scene of the dream was
Lower Post, where the soldiers pursued Elsie who sought to escape by fleeing down the outbank.

Elsie is too young even to have had sexual intercourse, but the dream may be inter-
preted as indicating her awareness of this behavior and expresses her dread of, and probably
her wish for, the experience. The same girl reported recurrent dreams of running away from
attacking dogs.

Eva Archi abstracted a series of dreams reflecting fear of attacks by animals and indicating
the unconscious sexual significance of animal dreams.

6:19:43 (Lower Post). "I scared when I dream beaver. If somebody kill him, I never scared
beaver. . . . Everytime, that's my dream—otter, mink, beaver. That's all. In some boy, that
otter. Then he come with me and catch me pretty near. I scared. I get away. That mink just the
same boy too. Same way I see grizzly bear too. Just the same like a man. In white man. I scared
that grizzly bear. I scared black bear too."

* Fromm, *Sex and Character* (1946), 24.

[illegible] "I sleep. I dream grizzly bear . . . I scared. He go up on a tree. [illegible] was on that grizzly bear. I was after a little way. I am [illegible] behind." The dream was [illegible] consequent on a fear of being pursued by somebody. From whom is the running away? "My [illegible] body." She replied. "That man he wants me but I tell him . . . I don't want him. A good [illegible] woman. . . ."

These animal dreams manifest the girl's fear of sexual aggression. Eve's second dream was reported following a discussion of the man who wanted to marry her and of me, particularly, with whom she was reported to be already living. In both dreams the sexual situation is conceived as attack and reacted to with threat. The common fear of the grizzly bear, expressed by many male and female subjects, and the preoccupation with the grizzly in thinking suggest that unconsciously the grizzly bear symbolizes the emotional intensity of the sexual situation or any other intense emotional experience. In girls the grizzly bear fantasy takes the form of running away from the animal, just as in life the girl runs from the boys who want to possess her. Although Inka's short conscious fear of the grizzly and also dream of this animal, they often dream or talk of overcoming the menace with a gun. In other words, the sexual situation is to be mastered with self-assertive weaponry. Failure to achieve such mastery, as in the dream of John Knee, whose gun failed when he was confronted by a grizzly, is the equivalent of sexual impotence.[8] In view of the male's unconscious definition of the sex act in terms of aggression, it is interesting to note Nida's unconscious identification of the emotions he experienced when, as a ten year old, he saw a couple engaging in coitus. "I say: 'What the hell?' I'm scared. I think I kill woman sometime. I never think. Too young, I'm scared."[9]

Coming now to the manifestation of sexual constriction in sexual incapacity, we find [illegible] the man's fear of impotence expressed in exaggerated ideas of potency. There is also evi[illegible] dence that girls and women are often frigid in coitus, partly, perhaps, because of the men's [illegible] selfish sexual techniques. Such incoherence with the feminine organic functions may, however, be expected when the sex act is unconsciously conceived in terms of attack, and where there is strong ambivalence regarding the intensities of sexual interaction. In the men similar ambivalence, plus the fear of being inadequate to master what is defined as a self-assertive situation, may similarly result in organic disturbances.

Sexual constriction further arouse the conflicting appeal of sex. All sexual activity is fear[illegible] of all regarded as indelicate and to be concealed. Children and youths are warned that [illegible] premature sexuality arrests growth and that excessive copulation causes early aging or [illegible] leads to insanity. There is probably a connection between the intensity invoked as a sexual emotion and the taboos. Mental illness in Kuka society is usually described as running amok and manifesting general lack of conscious control. The intensity of the orgasm may resemble a similar dangerous disruption of control to the emotionally constricted Kuka, the emotion of intensity being projected from the fear of excessive organic stimulation. On the other hand, the Kuka regard some sexual indulgence as necessary for health.

If sexual constriction serves to block sexual expression, how can we account for the

[8] See above, p. 436.

[9] See his underlying [illegible] sketch below, pp. 527-531. Also see his reference to the vagina dentata theme in the same place—the fear of death by intercourse.

[illegible] Gibbons, the data show Old Man's unconscious hostility and his ambivalent relationship to the ethnographer.

Early in June, before rapport was firmly reestablished, Old Man showed a tendency to deny anxiety by passive dependent avoidance. "I feel good not too anxious. My leg better no and Harry Lang wrote to me go out." Harry he said, did most of the shopping. Despite this statement, Old Man admitted being "broke" enough for when money ran with food earned and on which the family would live during the summer. He denied worrying.

[illegible] Five weeks later there was a dream in which Old Man assisted a girl to give birth by pressing down on her abdomen. He pressed lightly for fear of injuring the girl. Then he heard a wailing and somebody said "Baby born!" In the morning Old Man told his wife: "Maybe you're going to have baby." She denied this, saying she was too old. Asked what the dream meant, Old Man replied that a baby would be born somewhere (but not ours) and that it would be difficult to deliver. Such a dream can be interpreted as a desire to have a child. Children, as we have pointed out, are regarded as of economic value. The dream reveals Old Man that if he had a boy old enough to hunt, he might be able to relate with his enemy. The dream also suggests a resolution of failing sexual powers. The subject's own compensation endeavors to overcome that all of the dream's wishes are fulfilled.

[illegible] As the summer wore on, Old Man began to drink compulsively, using down hundred dollars of his wife's money to pay for liquor. Such behavior can be regarded as a manifestation of passive trends. On August 3 he complained of his struggle and spoke of the big money he had earned while working on Winnie Lake Airport. The next day he stated that, although he used to be a good moose hunter, his eyes were hindered such activities. The previous fall he had been lucky to get a moose by shooting without being able to see the sights of his gun. Another time he had gone hunting with his wife and shot into a herd of caribou, managing to bring down two. He said he wanted to buy glasses and wondered if the ethnographer could lend him some money. On August 10 there was an anxiety dream characterized by [illegible] female trends such as Old Man never directly reveals.

[illegible] "Fellow—I don't know his name. I forget—got shot, wounded. A tall fellow, white man. Finally he live. He got shot in here [points to chest]. My partner [mentions the name of Mary Helen's white husband] say: 'Here, Old Man, this is white man way. We don't want to see anything suffer. How about we finish his life?' I say: 'We got no gun.' He say: 'I guess just right rock rock on a pole. When the boy suffer I guess turn it to here [points to back].' He hit the man here [points to back]. Had go in his body. White man just fall down like that and he says: 'Good bye. . . .'"

The dream occurred while Old Man was away from home. There were no clear associations, but Old Man characterized the dream as "bad," explaining that he had been thinking about people drinking in Lower Post. Aggressive impulses, fulfilled by another person, and anxiety are the principal features of the dream to which the dreamer takes the passive role, reflecting the weakening of the ego capacities. The dream also reflects aggression toward the ethnographer, the tall white man whose name could not be recalled. The suggestion of [illegible] pederasty, represented by the nail being into the victim's back, should also not be overlooked and probably points to the beginning of Old Man's homosexual transference to the ethnographer.

The next day, while drunk, Old Man praised me the fact that he never became so [illegible] greatly when interviewed and criticized Louis Mbaa for drunken brawling. "What's [illegible] more funny? Why can't he drink?" This remark is irreconcilable in drunkenness with the ethnographer. When the figure was explained to me: "If I was girl I get something man [illegible] but leads to very thin. Should he if I drink like old woman and go around." Further passages [illegible] is revealed in the apprehension of homosexual tendencies. On August 14, while drunk, there was an overt homosexual approach to Edward Evans. As Old Man bent over the [illegible] knee he said: "I'm gonna take his worm," and grasped toward the young man's genitals. On August 15, while in town to the latter settlement with the ethnographer, drinking commenced at the Bridge, and Old Man said he preferred to drink with white people who never become aggressive. "I'm ashamed of my own people." He also resented in his assault that his own behavior under the influence of alcohol was perilous. These tendencies show the growing intensity of a passive homosexual resentment to the ethnographer.

In the next few days Old Man several times told, with evident pleasure, how he had [illegible] shot William grown pointed out to him by Blai Lung. There followed a series of drunken [illegible] rejoicing families and women, all disconcerted by the spoiler receiving support from a stranger present. While these drugs resolved immediate problems arising from Old Man's quarrel with John Evans, they also reflect the general weakening of egocentricity. Independent aim goals were giving place to dependence. On September 3, when the ethnographer suggested that Louis Mbaa looked worried, Old Man overreacted with a plea for sympathy, crying: "I worry all the time."

On September 14 (in Old Evan's place) Old Man remarked that perhaps Peter Tom would soon join the people going upriver. Then he said:

> "I dream Peter give me revolver. . . . I dream me Governor Mbaa wants to fight us. So we wanted. We see somebody kill us. Maybe I just worry about gun. So this Peter Tom give me revolver to kill this man. We see have trouble till I die. I say: 'What you want to give me gun for?'"

The reference, "worry about gun," is an immediate association to the previous evening, when Adele Evan, drunk, had threatened to shoot her husband's brother, with whom she had been living. A day or so previously, Old Man had referred to Adele as a hideous jealous scrounger and had declared that all the women of her tribe were abhorrent. Asked for associations to the dream, Old Man identified Peter Tom as a hard working youth on whom Louis Mbaa is very dependent for meat, wood, and general assistance. To interpret the dream, Old Man is again letting somebody handle his aggressive impulses for him, but he is also revealing anxiety at his growing incapacity. He needs somebody like Peter Tom to look [illegible] after him, somebody with strength and resourcefulness (revolver).

On the same day Old Man repeated a folktale which he had already related on the 9th [illegible] segregation the previous year. In the tale a man's wife cheats her blind husband out of food. [illegible] The old man is befriended by his medicine animal, a bear. The man climbs on the bird's back and is flown across a lake. The bird then dips the old man into the water. When he emerges, the man can see a little better. Once more the bird dives, and this time, upon emerging, the man discovers he can see perfectly. The bear now directs the man to his wife, but warns him

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

"What's the matter with you?" she say." Asked the meaning of the dream, he replied: "Means anytime some stranger coming." Did he remember such a visit by dog team last winter? night? "I was thinking about Nick Long coming about eleven o'clock or eight last winter." Then we he had dreamed that someone would come. "I'm dreaming about Nick before he's coming. We was drunk." Who else might be coming? "Maybe Peter Tom coming anytime this time." The dream is difficult to interpret beyond pointing to its obvious significance in relation to the forthcoming departure of the ethnographer which had been delayed by Peter Tom's failure to come upriver and guide us down. There is apparently also anxiety related to the lack of recent Old Man from the loss of his popularity. The connection to Nick Long is not clear.

But why should Old Man be anxious about the ethnographer's departure? Two explanations can be given. In the first place, the unconscious resentment to the ethnographer must be recalled. This unconscious, passive, homosexual relationship is threatened by the ethnographer's plans to leave. In the second place, the ethnographer's departure is being held up by the fact that there is no one to guide him and his family back to Lower Post. Harry Long is not ready to depart. Food is running short, and the guests are becoming impatient. Old Man fears that these attitudes threaten deference; they may lead to dislike on the ethnographer's part if the latter's imputed egocentricity continues to be frustrated. Hence the anxiety.

The following night Old Man dreamed that a well known white man from Lower Post had come up the river to the winter settlement. He reported this dream carefully, explaining that the man had wanted twenty dollars which Old Man owed him for the boat trip up the river. In the dream Old Man refused to pay, explaining that he had previously walked half the distance. The white man, however, insisted on collection. The dream seems related to financial anxiety. Old Man at the time wanted to visit his traps but was unable to leave because of his wife's illness. The situation also reveals threatened deference; by not paying his debt, or by not successfully helping the ethnographer, Old Man is imperiling his reputation and incurring loss of love. On November 30 Old Man said:

> "Well, I dream Stella Wiley. That much high bird [indicates]. She real up on leg. Her body down on the floor. I say: 'What's the matter with you, Stella?' I been suffer like that all winter." You better take that rope off,' I say. 'I can't swim.' Have a belt. Somebody lose that key." Asked what this dream might mean, Old Man replied: "I don't know. Maybe she's sick." What kind of bird was Stella associated with? "Like your bird [pointing], but high." Where did he ever see a bird like this? "I never see bird like that. I know bird is larger, maybe four feet high. Stella's got long leg. I try to find key, I want to take it out. She say: 'I been like that for a whole year.' They got chain right across both legs. Maybe she's suffer, sick." Where did he ever see a chain like this? "You see chain anywhere. When you look a house. You see chain in front of Harry Long's house. They had little chain like that. They like a save." Old Man explained that Harry had lost or forgotten the key that was a part of the chain. Where did he ever see a leg raised like this? "I hear white people, when they got no place to jail, just long little while. Used to be, when they got no place to put it." At this point Old Man was reminded that on the previous evening he had been talking about the custom of tying up witches by the legs. Was this perhaps connected with the dream? "Must be," he answered. "Maybe that's why I dream."

The associations are to the ethnographer's bird, the chain and lock for which Harry

long trail into the fury, and the draining of grievance. The manifest content of the dream also refers to Old Man's conversations regarding which person and to a previous conversation to which he had told the ethnographer about his encounters. Harry, making sexual advances to Stella, whereupon she had repudiated him. This in turn had made Harry extremely hostile toward the girl. Interpretation reveals this to be an anxiety dream in which Old Man is most concerned with the ethnographer's enforced stay upriver. The ethnographer is in Stella's presence, being locked in a situation for which Harry has a key — i.e., we are dependent upon this man's decision to go to Lower Post. This leads directly to another aspect of interpretation. Old Man is anxious regarding Harry Long. He cannot get rid of Harry, who often dominates him. In the dream Old Man shoulders with Stella Wilde, whom Harry once sought to attack, and remembers the period of which they during which some of Harry's relatives were prominent witch-hunters. Old Man's hands are tied in relation to his hands are to lose. He defers to the youth and would like to escape the conditions, but in the dream there seems to be little likelihood that he will be able to escape. Finally the dream reflects Old Man's frustration at being kept by his wife's illness from visiting the very line.

In the evening of the same day Old Man again referred to this dream. "I took for Stella on on all day today—I mean instead." He explained that sometimes a dream may indicate that a hunter is going to get some game. "If you dream you play with girl," and then go hunting, a female animal is presented. In this connection Old Man reveals that the dream contains a sexual component. It involves him in sadistic sexual relations with Stella. Therefore it is an expression of his ideas concerning both sexual and hunting ability, or potency in general. The nature of these ideas is probably not congenial to the dreamer, they frustrate him. To compensate for the frustration of declining potency, the dream creates a sadistic situation in which the dreamer [illegible] assertively gratify his desire for power. The dream regarding John Louis Moses's loss of spoons [illegible] two days later. This has already been analyzed.[1]

The most significant trend to be noted in Old Man's personality is the anxiety concomitant with his approaching old age. In the face of his deteriorating physical resources, specifically, failing eyesight, increasing ill health, and general debility, the egocentric motivation seem to reluctantly yield to increasing passivity and dependence. The rise of these motives, incompatible with the self-assertive goals of egocentricity, produces anxiety and frustration from which are derived his unconscious aggressive impulses. The latter in turn does not be directly released because of these conflicts with the values of dobonnon.

HARRY LANG

[illegible] Series

My earliest memory is of a trading post sitting on a very high outbank somewhere in Nelson River country where I was born. I could see the post from the other side of the river, but I don't know where it was. The outbank was much higher there here at Lower Post. My mother told me there was a store on the other side of the river but she never took me across. That was the first time I ever ate a stick of candy, only then I didn't know what I was eating. I remember it was very sweet.

[1] See above, pp. xxy-xxi.

girl and she proudly demonstrated her large wardrobe of dresses and coats, she changing her costume two or more times a day.

The situations were not conducive to arousing intimate personality data, but three dreams were collected in late July. These are given below.

She dreamed that she had left the new baby at her foster father's when it was very. Then she knew that the baby was outdoors dead and freezing. With her brother, Bob, she ran to save the infant. She woke up relieved to discover it was unnecessary and that there was no fear.

She dreamed that David was drowning in the Liard River. She neither was looking on [illegible] nor made an effort to save him. Later, however, her mother rescued the child.

She was walking along with Lee, Minnette and her lover, together with the new infant. A haunted white trapper came along and crushed the lover, crying in shrieks fate. Dorothy gave the baby to someone — it seemed like Alice Weber — and tried to help her lover. In her unconscious, Dorothy went on to explain that her father's dreams always came true and her mother's frequently. The dreams that often materialize.

Three motives of hostility are revealed in these dreams. In the first, Dorothy's hostility is directed primarily to her husband, Lee, who is probably an inconvenient adjunct to her new affair. She visualizes Lee's resentment of her lover's baby, at the same time deviously expressing her own aggression toward the infant. The significance of the brother is not clear, but his appearance in the dream probably represents the strong bonds between these two siblings. A similar function may be inferred from the fact that the dream takes place at her foster father's cabin, a father attachment thereby being indicated. In the second dream, the hostility is dramatically directed toward David, with the expectation that her mother will save the child. Here there is a wish for the grandmother to remove the child's care, in other words, an expression of Dorothy's emotional rejection of the boy. The third dream pictures the polyandrous ménage, complete except for David, who has apparently already been disposed of. Hostility is now indirectly released against her lover, but is ambivalent. Dorothy tries to help her lover while the baby is given to an exceedingly insidious maternal figure. The wish-fulfillment element is clearly stressed in Dorothy's associations to dreams that have come true. The total sequence of dreams therefore indicates the girl's confusion in her current situation and her ambivalent desire to escape from it and assume her independence. They reflect the anxiety connected with the role she is playing, her self-consciousness, her fear of public criticism, and uncertainty.

159 Certainly Dorothy has cause for uncertainty. She is widely disliked by many people, and only her affected indifference to criticism and public opinion, together with her persistent lying to save face, protect her from succumbing the anxiety attached to her position. Unfortunately we have only meager data for discovering how she came to be the person that she is.

Probably one of the most important influences in her life was her identification with her foster father, a strong, self-willed Tahltan Indian, who manifests the same pride in his [illegible] that Dorothy affects. Dorothy is intensely proud of her Tahltan heritage and fond of talking about the stimulation to be found in Telegraph Creek. This pride in status, it must be pointed out, is a familiar trait of Tahltan men and some Tahltan women, but is notably lacking in Kaska individuals. Even dominant Kaska men are not proud or preten-

[illegible]

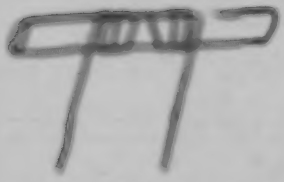
159

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

A



B

[pHO (a)]

TB7

If the string is here around the sixth toes (f), two lines are indicated. Sometimes the line is found here across the sixth toes and to continue a second of line is found around under itself (D). This indicates that the man's magic controls not here give one other species of fur. The magic controlling the sixth toes was to determine the presence of whatever fur he specifies. He may also perform the wealth to have another person's luck, and this does not stop for his son to do, there, who was already away on his way him. In this there's one the whole presented him two lives and more other species of fur; unfortunately when he left several days here he found his magic completely bare of fur. In figure's case, however, the presented two lives were duly found in the young man's magic.

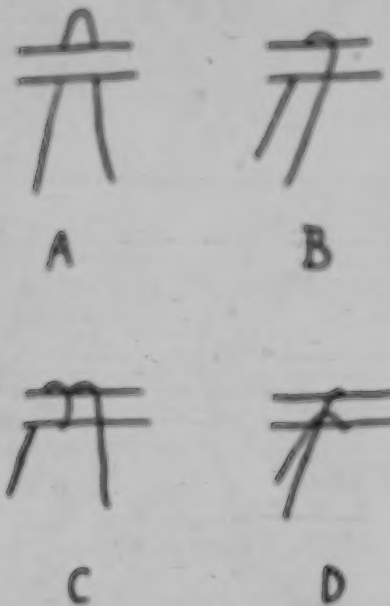


Fig. 1—[illegible]

TB7 Depending on occasions or circumstances straight of hand in unwinding the line—that is, one strand of line in two or more times flipped across the sixth independently of the appearance —this sixth was used in the aboriginal society by individuals who, by virtue of being befriended by a supernatural animal power, enjoyed the status of shamans. Such persons have a variety of spectacular conjurations and often emulated their skills in competitive contests. For examples, see Osgood, C., 'The Ethnography of the Tanaina,' *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, No. 16, New Haven, 1937, pp. 180–181.

TB7 Other forms of divination and revelation in use among the Kaska are not many. They include, however, something we have to learn a hunter's prospects, as well as prophecy through the interpretation of dreams and by [illegible]. Aboriginally scapulimancy was a common feature of this as well as other Northern Athapaskan people. People also have their decisions confirmed by fire. That is, a man who is undecided about a course of action may hear a camp- or stove-fire crackling. 'When you think of something and fire crack,' our informant explained, 'that's ghost telling you "yes" or "no." He knows your mind. If you want to hunt, he tell you "kling, kling—hurry up." Sometimes he says "yes" or "no." You just guess it, that's all.

JOHN J. HONIGMAN[1]
Pullman, Wash., U.S.A. IRMA HONIGMAN[1]

[p. 140 (b)]

[1] [Errata: should be spelled Honigmann.—A]

98J

tamat or beard game named she purged herself of this action, by putting it in the bag among the other evils. If people (especially men) within hearing of the girl wished to speak of game, they whispered or told the girl's mother, who thereupon told the girl to stay her ears. If a girl by any chance overheard to hear game spoken of, it was her duty to stop her ears with her fingers at once. If a caribou had come within sight of the camp and the people wished to speak about it and the hunters discuss going after it, the girl stopped her ears and then lay down on the ground entirely covered up. She did not uncover herself or get up until the hunters had killed the caribou and returned to camp. If she did not do this the caribou would run away or the hunters have bad luck. If a girl happened to see any game (especially large game such as caribou, etc.) she at once covered her head with the hood of her robe and turned her face the opposite way. She did not tell anyone what she had seen.

98J
787

Girls went through no special training for obtaining of manitous, the objects of their training thus differing considerably from those of boys. Nevertheless some girls became 'mystery', or obtained medicine which led to their having manitous. Knowledge of this kind came to some of them in dreams during their training and a few developed it later in life and became

Almost equal to shamans

when they commenced to train whilst others were quite young. Boys did not have the dangerous powers of girls during adolescence and therefore they had fewer restrictions put on them. They also went through fewer ceremonies and the length of their training period was less definite. Almost the only object in the training of boys was to obtain manitous. Very few special ceremonies or training were in vogue for perfecting boys in certain careers, and very little attention was paid to gymnastics and special physical exercises. Usually they continued to train only until such time as had obtained the manitous. Whilst seeking their manitous lads went off alone on trips in the mountains, remaining away from two or three to upwards of ten days at a time. The beginning of training was ushered in by a feast, usually of four days duration, on the first trip to the mountains. Some feasted again on later trips for shorter periods. Some lads washed or bathed to a considerable extent whilst others did not. In the same way some lads sweat-bathed and others not. Evidently washing and sweat-bathing were not as universal nor considered as important as among the Salish tribes. Each lad followed his own bent, and had to some extent his own methods of procedure in trying to obtain his manitou. Some desired different manitous from others. Some had their minds set on obtaining a certain manitou

[illegible] whilst others had no special desires in this way. Some could not get the manitous they visited for, even if they tried to get them for a long time. This was because these particular powers (animal spirits) never came or appeared to them. In the end they had to be satisfied with whatever came to them. Some boys trained just in so far as directed in their dreams and followed their dream instructions throughout. To induce dreams and also to obtain their manitous more quickly and easily lads concentrated their thoughts as much as possible and kept their minds fixed on the objects of their desires. They practised this and trained themselves in mind concentration and will power.

[illegible] Some by this kind of training are said to have learned to read the minds of people and animals, etc., to some extent. Lads called on spirits of animals, birds, and powers to become their manitous and solicited aid from them and knowledge. After a time some of these spirits or powers took pity on them and spoke to them in dreams, thus becoming their manitous. Sometimes one or more of these powers spoke to them repeatedly and imparted more or less knowledge or instruction. Lads prayed to these powers before obtaining them as manitous, asking them to assist them so they would be successful at hunting. At the same time they practised those things they wished to become expert at, such as hunting, etc.

after obtaining manitous they solicited them especially. Some Lods developed or obtained a good deal of knowledge during their training; some developed shamanistic knowledge and became mostly or entirely as shamans. Some obtained the knowledge of seeing things which were distant, and could tell what had happened to things stolen or lost and where these things were. They could also tell what people were doing, although these people were absent and far away. Some others seem to have obtained knowledge of doing certain things more by practice in the doing of these things than by any knowledge directly imparted by their manitous. However, in cases like these, it was supposed (at least by some) the powers of their manitous really helped them secretly to achieve success in their undertakings. Some Lods who desired to be lucky hunters practised the "cutting of tongues", like some who desired to be shamans (see under shamanism). However most Lods desiring to be good hunters prayed to become such and practised the real hunting of game. Those desiring to be good gamblers prayed to be such and at the same time practised the games of chance so as to become adept at them. Several kinds of roots were considered to be good charms for obtaining luck in games. Lods dug up different kinds

x Editor's note: /The section on shamans is not included in this typescript; apparently the writing was never completed./

778 of roots and tested them as charms. Those they had no
684 luck with they discarded, whilst perhaps one or two
787 they adopted as charms because they found, whenever
624 they used them, they had luck in playing. A charm
good for one individual might be no good for another
and vice versa. Some lads who desired to be good
881 warriors prayed to be such and practised mimic warfare.
778 They also looked for charms or something which would
lend them power and help them to win. At last they
would light on something which would be of value.
Eagle feathers gave the winning power to many and there-
fore a number of men when going to battle wore eagle
881 feathers. Lads desiring to be shamans practised curing
766 of the sick. They had more to learn than others, for
to become a strong shaman required much knowledge and
generally this could not be obtained excepting by long
and hard training. (For some practices of lads learning
881 to be shamans, see under shamans) Having obtained a
778 manitou, the lad later hunted the animal or bird repre-
787 sentation of his manitou. Having killed one he kept
the skin. It seems by a person keeping the skin near
him or in his possession there was created a greater
bond between the man and his manitou and the latter
exercised a kind of guardian influence on the former.
881 No shooting, running, jumping and other similar cere-
monies such as practised by adolescent youths of the

884 same manner as others. All songs thus introduced were
933 named after the person who introduced them and were called "so and so's song". Most lyric songs and many dance songs are known to have originated in the ways described. The themes of these songs were varied; some were of a serious, others of a comic nature. Some were love songs, and some described the doings and feelings of people and animals. It seems none of them were real medicine or shaman's songs.

171 No annual or other manitou dances were held
S&S as among the Salish where young people sang their
267 manitou songs in turn.

884 Young men from the time of their attaining
342 puberty until marriage lived in a lodge by themselves. Where people lived in large camps sometimes as many as twenty young men inhabited the young men's lodge at one time. This lodge was of no special construction, being
[615] of the same shape and materials as other lodges. All
884 the young unmarried men of both phratries lived together in this lodge, those of the Raven phratry sleeping on one side, those of the Wolf on the other. They slept, ate, played games, sang and amused themselves. They went out from here singly and in groups to the mountains for hunting of game, training etc. They got their own wood and water and did their own cooking. They mixed very little with other people and kept to themselves.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River
Tsalona
Upper Liard

776 mice which they secured with small bows and arrows in the tall grass, sometimes be-
[177] friended men. They also enjoyed a reputation for their fun making. Information about Fire Man (Kontlkluta or Kotz) came to the Kaska from the Taku Indians, who called him Tcinkil'a. An evil being, he spoke in the fire's crackling and to him the people then threw small bits of meat. The devil was cold and controlled other evil beings like Tenatco. Long ago Tiyetsiin, a cannibal, prowled the earth for unsuspecting victims whom he clubbed to death and then prepared like game for eating. The track of this being struck great terror when encountered but he perished long ago in the flood. Water beings were unknown. Thunder originated from a great "fly" (bird? insect?) with a large mouth.[50]

776 *Tsalona.* No idea of a Supreme Being obtained in aboriginal times. Something called a devil (Lisp) entered into the aboriginal belief system but details could not be recalled.

SHAMANISM

756 *Upper Liard Kaska.* An informant told us that a shaman was always a fat person because he constantly dreamed that he was eating. Such a characterization may be derived from one or two renowned shamans about whom the informant had knowledge. Every young man received the opportunity to acquire power that would enhance his personal capacities. Hence every man was a potential shaman (neta or nadita; the latter word appears to designate the curing status of the person). Women too could be visited by extraordinary dreams through which they, like men, acquired shamanistic
[178] power. By working harder at shamanism some men and a few women acquired a wide reputation as curers, prophets, and conjurers.

The power to perform shamanistic functions came from "dreaming of animals in a
756 lonely place" (O). A young person would spend time in the bush. At night he might
787 hear ryo singing like a human being or he might hear a mouse or bear singing. "You go in bush. Pretty soon get dark. You hear somebody sing. Bye and bye get light. Fellow goes and just mouse there when you wake up. Bye and bye get dark and that man come back" (K). When a boy reached about 14 or 15 years in age his father directed him to sleep in the forest. Before leaving camp the youth would sometimes suck his mother's breast "just like a little baby." Generally the aspirant traveled about ten miles from his parents' camp, stopping at a place where he saw porcupine tracks. Arriving at such a site the boy painted his chest with a pigment made from soft-coal wood. Always he camped alone, accompanying his one or two days of isolation with sparse eating and little drinking.[51] It was forbidden to take a bow and arrows along on a vision quest. Every night

[50] Thunder birds have been reported for the Tahltan (see footnote 8) and Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 455; Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 186.

[51] Among the Tlingit would-be shamans "spent long periods in the forest in absolute solitude, supposedly in communication with evil spirits. They also had periods of fasting and diets that differed in many respects from that of others." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* [1914], 135-136.) Drucker is more explicit in listing the following traits for the Tlingit power quest: shaman's power from animal spirits, hunting and "medicines" used preparatory to novice's vision quest, fasting and continence enjoined during the quest, bathing and fasting after that encounter as well as a four-day period of singing

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

that he lay down to sleep the youth wished that a source of auxiliary power would that might be revealed to him. Communications from animals or other symbols constituted the marks of a successful vision quest. Sometimes the animals encouraged the boy to emulate them. "Don't stay with a bunch of people. Stay alone and you'll have strong power," might be their advice. Or the youth might be advised to avoid sleeping with women "for a little while" in order to obtain lasting good fortune. Some animals assured the aspirant that when he was hungry an animal patron would always provide assistance. Such a dream must never (?) be revealed to another person. Following his initial experience a boy usually sought additional helpers, subsequently spending longer periods in solitude. Sometimes an aspirant passed a month alone in the bush. In his dreams the youth might be advised that his power had now been secured and that he could freely "bother" women again.*

A successful vision quest apparently represented a portion of the animal's wind (or soul) passing into the dreamer to enhance the latter's natural ability. Upon returning from a dream quest a boy would always contrive to enter camp by a trail different from the one along which he had started forth. In the period of seeking visions a young man felt sensitive about his sister (or other women?) staring at his mouth. According to the informant, only "nice" people encouraged their sons to dream for power. A father who feared the hardships associated with life in the winter wisely insisted on the vision quest, then knowing that the boy would be able to predict the location of game and save the people from starvation. Should a man's son show fear of sleeping in isolation he would not be forced into the ritual. A man might falsely pretend to have secured power. Eventually the lie revealed itself in the person's ineffectual attempts to cure or to locate game. The story is told of one Indian who reported an exceptional vision to his friends. A grizzly bear with a cub had come to sing to him. Nobody believed him. The shaman said, "Come down with me and you'll see the bear and the kid play with me." Somebody accepted the invitation and witnessed the grizzly harmlessly play with the man. The "kid" played with them both. Perhaps this tale is more related to the wonder working undertaken by powerful shamans than it is to the dream quest.

The successful solicitation of power brought a man into relation with one or more animal helpers upon whose aid he now counted in performing curing and other ceremonies. In addition curers might dream of natural objects (like leaves or bark) that possessed medicinal properties. A shaman collected such materials and kept them in a small pouch. Ordinarily no particular dress distinguished a shaman. When called upon

and dancing, further power sought; shamans possessed several spirits, most shamans were men. The Wogit patterns of obtaining an animal spouse differ substantially from those followed further south on the Pacific Coast but resemble closely shamanistic patterns of the Cassiar. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 310-320.

* The English word "bother" is used by the Kaska to designate a variety of experiences, including sexual intercourse. (Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* [1949], 136.) Slavish interpreters also use the same English word to translate what is probably the same Athapaskan verb. "For example, when the name is that a person ought to avoid persons, animals, or objects, the preferred English verb is 'bother.' 'Don't bother your wife.' (Usually with the meaning 'don't have sexual intercourse with your wife.)" Rhodenizer, *Partnership or Domestication in Female Culture* (1941), 150.

4: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

to practice, however, he might represent his power source by donning the skin of a moose, bear, sheep, or other animal.[8] "New" clothing belonged to shamanistic performances. When not in use these garments remained in a bag that a man kept outside of the dwelling. How they were then kept dry cannot be answered.[9] Drums played no role in curing but some men employed clappers made of two or three pieces of wood that were probably held between the fingers. Practitioners at work carefully avoided exposing their mouths to women and concealed their features beneath a piece of skin (to post-contact time underneath a handkerchief). The association between the breath and shamanistic efficacy no doubt determined in part such attention to the mouth. Payment for curing constituted a voluntary gift that varied depending on the shaman's degree of success or on the economic status of the patient. A more taken gift rewarded a curing rite that failed. Large payments were exceptional. Should a shaman fail twice to effect a cure then a more powerful practitioner would be asked to exercise his power.

Shamans enlisted war parties, using their power to weaken the enemy. Probably the commonest function of a shaman was divination or clairvoyance.[10] With or without the aid of external oracles[11] the shaman "dreamed" the location of game, the number of days that would elapse before a patient recovered, or somebody's imminent death. One man predicted the arrival of many white men in the Canoe and announced that the visitors would find "all the Indians dead." "That's what happened," the informant added. Judging from folk tales, a shaman also protected his people from monsters and cannibalistic giants whom he usually contrived to kill.[12] Finally, some shamans enhanced their prestige by public wonder working or conjuring. The feats such men are said to have performed include walking on the surface of water "so that everybody

[8] Tlingit shamans symbolized their powers on masks or in articles of apparel. Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 463-466.

[9] Jones reports that Tlingit shamans began their work "in perfect nudity" wearing "a girdle composed of hemlock, cedar-bark and tobacco . . . about their loins, then a necklace of teeth about their necks, and last of all they were given rattles especially made for their use." Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 169-170.

[10] Clairvoyance by shamans occurred along the length of the Northwest Coast with a special class of clairvoyants appearing among the Haida. (Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. V, Part 1 [1905], 58.) Among the Tlingit "besides curing the sick a shaman had many other functions, such, for instance, as the location of supplies of food and assistance against enemies in war." (Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* [1908], 460.) As a diviner the Tlingit shaman "was often consulted as to weather, the proper time to start on a hunt, whether a certain venture would meet with success or failure and about other things." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* [1914], 158.) Among the Tutchone people "the medicine men has the power of a kind of second sight either in dreams, or when he or she wherever the Ancient is nearly singing, they will be able to foretell the future also cure the sick, and so forth, which gives them considerable influence with the tribe." Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 5.

[11] See below, p. 115.

[12] "They have tales of enormous animals such as the mammoth and sphinx as large as a full-sized grizzly bear and long worms that are supposed to be alive today and nobody can save them from these animals has their destiny" (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 5.) Among the Athapaskans (Sarcee) Cree it was not unusual for the shaman to swim into the lake to kill a cannibalistic witches. Honigmann, *Ethnography Cree field notes* (1945-46).

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Tselona

could see it" and sleight of hand. Then a performer caused a decorated bone-long staff to disappear. Two shamans might compete in public conjuring, the object of each being to prove himself the more powerful. The loser in such a contest might die.*

Dease River Kaska. Both men and women became shamans among the people in the Dease River valley. A girl sometimes acquired her power (namely, "strength") while undergoing menstrual seclusion. Generally in summer when a boy reached 16 he was directed to go a short distance into the bush to dream. Here he remained for about a month, living in an open camp made by clearing a patch of willows. Occasionally more adequate shelters housed the vision searcher. The youth painted his face in either red or black. While a woman was forbidden to visit the aspirant, the latter was freely visited by his father who brought food. Generally, however, a youth seeking a dream consumed little food and drank water sparingly. According to one informant a boy used the drinking tube during his seclusion but not the scratching stick, which was associated with a girl's puberty segregation.* Sometimes three or four boys passed their vision quest together. Power came from dreaming of a "strong" animal, mythological being, sun, or moon. Girls often dreamed about stars. Power dreams were never revealed. Boys whose experiences seemed particularly efficacious—for example, if they received communications from animals like the bear or mountain goat—might become successful curers. No formal instruction in shamanism followed the dream quest—"a man taught himself." While almost every man enjoyed some power, each microcosmic group customarily recognized one individual who stood out by virtue of such ability. Indirect revelation of a power source occurred when a shaman wore in his hair the feathers of a bird patron or, if his helper was a bear, carried a bear-skin headband or necklace of that animal's claws. Indians desiring to be cured either visited the practitioner or summoned him. Curers customarily performed with rattles. Payment consisted of skins, moosehorn, or articles of wearing apparel. Sometimes a successful man received his patient's daughter as a wife, but only with the girl's explicit consent. Age enhanced a man's supernatural powers while longevity in turn proved that a man enjoyed particularly strong helpers. Such men acquired widespread reputations. Conjuring, mainly by sleight-of-hand, constituted a fun part of the shaman complex and served to spread a man's ability far afield. Shamans also engaged in competitive performances.

Tselona. An informant clearly described the source of shamanistic ability. "All kinds of game, they help," he said. "Moose, beaver, lynx, marten, otter, sheep, goat, caribou—all make people doctor. When they want to hunt they catch anything. Somebody get sick, make all right the people. The water too make somebody doctor. Water he talk, he

* Widespread in the northern Athapaskan area, public conjuring is also related for the Tlingit. "... shamans of hostile towns were in the habit of drinking up to fight each other by means of their spirits. Sometimes they performed for no other reason than to show their power." (Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* [1908], 460.) Sleight-of-hand among the Tlingit is mentioned by Dunlevy. (Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* [1950], 256.) From an upper Liard River informant we learn that Dease River shamans made objects disappear and also caused passengers to walk "straight into camp."

* In this connection see also the statement of another informant in reference to puberty rites for boys, p. 320 below.

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758 bone. Poplar, willow, any kind stick [i.e., tree] make doctor." Thunder, too, could confer power and gave a man the ability to control weather. A man's power helped him to attain old age but when he died his acquired ability "died" with him.

756 The vision quest among the Tsetona involved the aspirant's seclusion in the forest,
787 where he met animals or other sponsors who sang to him. As a rule only a boy undertook searching for a vision but occasionally a girl also slept in the bush and secured shamanistic power. Only when engaged in curing did the shaman wear a distinctive garb, for example carrying a fur scarf around his neck. The skin represented his power source. Neither drum nor rattle played a part in curing. According to our informant only Cree shamans drummed. Conjuring could not be recalled but the informant had heard of a similar practice among other Indian groups.

MAGIC

789 The term magic is used in this section to include not only behavior but also a manner of thinking or state of mind. The major characteristic of magic is that it holds material things or behavioral events "to be the unfailing residence of certain intrinsic qualities."[95] Magic as a term thus includes ideas as well as manifest avoidances and other rites, like amulet wearing, removing illness by sucking, and various forms of divination. Not all of the magical observances in Kaska culture have been incorporated in this section. A number have been introduced previously (for example in connection with warfare) while others will be included with the life cycle.

789 *Upper Liard Kaska.* In pre-contact times the Indians of the Cassiar recognized
784 several species of animals as magically dangerous. Holding first place in this category
825 we find the otter, a creature that in this region occupies the focal point of ideology which among other Mackenzie drainage people is reserved for the wolf.[96] Like the mink, the otter could drive persons insane, subject them to fainting, nosebleed, and produce more serious illness such as "twisting up." Both animals were avoided as food. A mink inadvertently caught in a deadfall had its carcass thrown into the fire and covered with feathers. This "put them [i.e., mink] in good mind." To take a live mink from a trap was particularly dangerous. An otter taken in a beaver deadfall was returned to the stream or lake with instructions to one's children not to drink water near the place. Dreaming of the otter made people fearful and such dreams were regarded as originating with the animal itself. Otters possessed power to transform themselves into human beings.[97] Attitudes of profound respect and avoidance were not lacking for the wolf. A hunter who wounded this animal always let it go free with the expectation that the creature would again present itself to the hunter. Should it then be killed, a depletion of game would follow within two or three years.[98] Thus the cyclic fluctuation of game animals appears

[95] Wilson, *Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 93.

[96] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 76.

[97] "... the land otter was dreaded more than any other creature. This was on account of his supposed supernatural power, fearless for stealing people away, depriving them of their senses, and turning them into otter men. ... Years ago the Tlingit would not use them for fur." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 456.

[98] "... the wolf was also supposed to possess great power." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 455.

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784 commonly exploited. Some parts of the meat would be avoided. Often the animal helper itself prescribed the avoidance to be followed. Thus a moose might tell the dreamer, "Eat only my ribs," "Don't eat my head," or "Don't eat my guts."

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784 Cohabitation promised to be magically dangerous under some circumstances and therefore had to be avoided.[28] For example a man held off from coitus in the night before he started on a hunt. Following his return the hunter remained continent for about six days.[29] Miscellaneous avoidances included the taboo on making snowshoes before snow lay on the ground and a reluctance to deposit parts of the human body on or in the earth. Apparently because of the disgust associated with rotten things like teeth, the umbilicus, the afterbirth, and perhaps the corpse were rather cached or burned than buried. Whistling met with special precautions, but use of the willow whistle does not seem to have been affected.

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787 By far the largest amount of magical ritual concerned itself with hunting and the cure of illness. Not only could a shaman through divination learn the location of game but he could then perform rites to guarantee the successful killing of food. Singing the songs which had been learned from one's animal sponsors secured hunting luck; a "moose doctor" for example sang his "moose song." Men with inadequate power frequently asked a stronger shaman to perform rites in their behalf. Seated alongside the practitioner the hunter might accompany the shaman by singing. On other occasions a man with strong power etched the image of an animal on a small piece of caribou bone. The hunter took this amulet on his journey and returned it when it had served its purpose. Other amulets, like a piece of weasel or loon skin worn in the hat, assured all-around good luck. Any man might be fortunate in finding substances that assured successful hunting. Such "medicines" (perhaps earths?) were shaped like pills and carried on the hunter's person. In early post-contact times a man who struck a moose trail would smoke one of these pellets in his pipe, at the same time singing and wishing to encounter that animal. Another form of hunting ritual involved an older brother tearing open the left sleeve of his coat when a younger sibling killed his first large game animal. The ritual assured a lasting abundance of game. Instead of remaining hidden the animals would fall out of the sleeve, metaphorically speaking. Scapulimancy performed by a shaman sometimes preceded hunting for moose, caribou, and bear. The following account probably indicates that the informant had forgotten the details of this technique. The shaman is said to have begun by singing, at the same time placing the scapula of a moose or caribou near the fire. Heat, the informant explained, caused a moose or other animal to appear on the surface of the bone. This indicated that the hunter would have good luck whereas if an image failed to materialize then he would kill nothing. At the end of the performance the shaman blew on the bone, flipped his fingers, and caused the design to vanish. As elsewhere in the northern forest it is likely that cracks in the scapula were interpreted.[30]

[28] See also pp. 94, 96, 117, 118, 124–126, and 160.

[29] Continence as a preparatory observance for luck is widespread among Pacific Coast tribes, including the Tlingit and Chilkat. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 223.

[30] "... people used to talk to a piece of bone that comes out of a seal's shoulder blade, saying, 'Will

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Certain therapeutic rites required silence in order to be effective. These a shaman performed at a considerable distance from the sick camp, never within range of the sound of barking dogs. Probably under such circumstances a healer caused a sorcerer's evil to recoil on the latter. Detection of a sorcerer was easy if it happened that somebody remained conspicuously absent from a curing ceremony. Against the absent one the shaman directed the finger of guilt.

Confession helped to diagnose illness resulting from broken avoidances and apparently also possessed curative value in itself. The shaman asked, "You ever bother your sister?" "You ever kill an otter?" "How you kill mink?" "You ever steal?" When the patient had admitted an offense the confessor warned him not to repeat the deed upon recovery.

Following contact with Europeans a hunter came to perform a ritual to alleviate intense cold. He fired a dry root ("wolverine medicine") from a shotgun. Informants did not recognise the reference to "lucky number." The preceding material, however, suggests strongly that the number "four" possessed special significance. Apart from love songs, which may have been used with the idea of magically attracting a member of the opposite sex, love magic occupied little attention.[50]

As already indicated people sometimes used their magical power against other people. For example a reputed shaman who felt slighted or ridiculed might use sorcery in vengeance against his real or fancied detractors. People took care not to annoy a shaman. He should be "only pleased," said an informant. A man whose temperament favored sorcery sought to increase his power by dreaming of animals like the mink and otter but not all persons were sorcerers whose power emanated from these species. A sorcerer tried to "steal" his victim's wind, perhaps first securing a piece of the latter's clothing. Burial of such a possession in the ground brought about death. (Note the use of burial in this context.) A person suspecting sorcery might pay to have his wind returned. In this way really malevolent practitioners extorted women. Sorcerers meted out not only death but also illness, physical and mental, and also "troubled" a man by ruining his hunting ability. A good hunter knew that he had been sorcerized when, seeing a moose, he failed to strike the animal with his weapon. Black magic held a danger of mental illness for the evil magician, who in some cases was also executed with the community's consent. Sorcerers, however, could evade execution by slipping through their enemies' hands. An informant related a story about two Tlingit shamans, one of whom was evil. They both flew through the air. The good man disappeared after a time but his

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The wind had gone so far away that the patient was close to death. During the interval of unconsciousness nobody might leave the dwelling. After perhaps four hours the men simultaneously returned to consciousness and renewed their singing. Part of the paraphernalia used in the rite consisted of a line strung with feathers. This the practitioner lashed around the patient's wrists and used to pull the latter from his bed. In that way he was pulled back to life, the informant explained. The pattern of going into a trance to retrieve an errant soul is close to the Eskimo pattern of shamanism. The line fastened to the patient recalls Eskimo divination customs.

[50] Love magic has been reported for the Tahltan. In one particular variety a white root was obtained from the ground and rolled into pellets. The woman's image was then drawn on a piece of skin and encircled with the pellets. If the charm was to be successful the pellets moved and at the same time the woman found herself attracted to the magician.

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partner continued to fly, indicating that power for evil exceeded in strength power for good.[34] The following tale is about an upper Liard River shaman who was still alive in early post-contact times:

> Squeaky Dick was an evil shaman. Once the people lined up in front of his camp to kill him. He knew this. They had a muzzle loader to shoot him. The gun couldn't fire; all the parts refused to work. The people then started to kill him with a knife. Dick threw himself down and disappeared—blanket and all. The people poked through the brush with a knife hoping to kill him. Later Squeaky Dick returned and boasted of his escape.[35]

People consulted a variety of omens. Crackling of the fire represented a communication from the dead and portended another death in a short time. Indians commonly threw a small offering of food into the flames when they heard this sound.[36] Smoke from a campfire drifting and hanging across a river instead of rising promised that there would soon be meat. The following formula is self explanatory: "If you expect your partner back and he doesn't come, tie a knot in a moccasin lace and put it near the fire. If it jumps a little he'll be back quick."[37] To learn if one would soon travel a person held the broken-off wing of a spruce hen with tendons attached over heat. The tendons were first twisted. If the exposed tendon jerked, then one would soon travel in the direction indicated by the movement.[38] Belief in the revelatory power of dreams was common and a body of lore existed for interpreting common dreams. To dream of eating with a deceased person indicated that the dreamer would die the next autumn. A dream of joking about or with a deceased acquaintance showed that a hunt undertaken on the following morning would be successful. Erotic dreams portended the killing of female animals. To dream of arriving swans meant snow; a flock of approaching ducks in a dream spelled rain within a few days. A sick person sometimes dreamed of the individual who had sorcerized him.

A few common weather omens follow:

> Rainbow: The end of rain.
> Ringed moon: Rain or snow in two days time.
> Ringed winter sun: North wind soon with snow.
> Ringed summer sun: Rain in two days.
> Red sunrise: Rain at night.
> Red sunset: Bad weather in about three days.
> Red northern sky at sunset: Warm wind and mild weather.
> Red southern sky at sunset: North wind coming.

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[34] The informant reported hearing that Tlingit (?) sorcerers of the Taku and Nass rivers took an animal bladder, filled it with air, and then inscribed it with the image of a man. By piercing this image with pins "all over" the victim could be brought to illness and death (O).

[35] For the description and interpretation of a witch-fear epidemic that gripped the post-contact Kaska, see Honigmann, *Witch-Fear in Post-Contact Kaska Society* (1947).

[36] "When the fire crackles, spirits are hungry and calling for food. Then food must be put into the fire." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* [1914], 233. See also Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* [1908], 461.) Kaska Indians vouched for similar beliefs among the Tahltan.

[37] For an oracle operated with a piece of line and witnessed in contemporary Kaska society see Honigmann, *Kaska String Oracle* (1947).

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Dease River
Tsalona

784 *Dease River Kaska.* Many of the animal avoidances common among the Upper Liard people were shared by the Dease River Indians. Danger came from the mink and otter, while the killing of a toad always produced illness. People fed moose, caribou, and beaver flesh to dogs, and informants did not admit to having been careful in disposing of moose hairs. Women ate any part of an animal that a man used for food. Dream animals, from whom power had been obtained, were avoided for food but whether completely or only in part we did not learn. Illness followed violation of such taboos. Young men and women drank lightly of water, apparently in order to maintain their strength.[89] No [836] restrictions on youths' drinking grease were admitted. A man avoided coitus with his wife for one night before going to hunt.

224 755 Shamans made hunting magic by singing magical animal songs accompanied by other men. Singing also operated in curing ceremonies. Any person with some power, even a youth, might perform healing magic. Should the disease not be relieved, increasingly more powerful (reputed?) shamans would be solicited. Successful cures enhanced a practitioner's reputation. In addition to confession, techniques of doctoring included blowing into the person to restore the latter's soul when it was believed to have been stolen through sorcery. A shaman also sucked intrusive disease from the body, revealing stones or very little animals that had caused the ailment. Sometimes a practitioner blew his breath into a vessel containing water for the sick man to drink.

754 Sorcery involved the capture of another person's wind. This produced illness. Any man with sufficient power could succeed with malevolent magic, or else the services of a stronger shaman guaranteed successful completion of the deed. Only evilly disposed men accepted such employment, indicating that in-group sorcery met with disapproval. The man who produced illness could also cure it and sometimes offered to do so in exchange for a payment of skins. Suspected black magicians inspired fear and respect. No physical sanctions appear to have been directed against their activities.

• 787 Scapulimancy was practiced. The bull-roarer possessed magical power and a man swung it for magical assistance, to chip stone successfully and also to bring about milder weather.

784 825 *Tsalona.* Certain animals aroused great fear and were never trapped. These included the flying squirrel, toad, mink, and otter.[90] To kill one of these creatures promised that one's children would sicken and die. The wolf and wolverine were also avoided for fur

[89] Before marriage a Tlingit boy's uncle told him: "Do not drink too much water or it will make you lazy." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 428. See also above, p. 107.

[90] For the Bear Lake Sekani attitudes of respect have been reported regarding the wolf, toad, salamander, and otter. "The Indians around us had many superstitions regarding wolves; a rifle that killed a wolf would soon kill a human; or a person born at a certain time must never kill a wolf, because if he did, his nearest female relative was certain to become insane." Children were startled when shown toads. "It was quite taboo for them to touch or get near 'frogs.' Such an action meant death or illness and all sorts of horrible things." To touch salamanders "might mean that a man would lose all his worldly possessions." Otter skulls were preserved by the youngsters and would not be surrendered to the naturalists lest the "mother would be possessed by the spirits of the three departed otters and eventually become insane." Stanwell-Fletcher, *Naturalists in the Wilds of British Columbia*, (1940), 131, 137, 221.

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Tsetsaut
Frances Lake

and food but they do not seem to have possessed the same dangerous potency as the mink, for example. The informant denied any general avoidance of the otter. Rather some people paid more regard to him than others. Clarification of this statement could not be secured. Perhaps a man who enjoyed otter power felt less fear for that animal. Following their introduction in numbers, dogs came to eat the meat of any animal but not the leg tendons or intestines of the moose. Avoidance of these foods preserved the dog's endurance.

A young man observed a number of food avoidances designed to develop capacities for hunting. He drank water lightly, since many animals disliked water. Avoidance of the beverage magically helped a man to obtain greater power over game. He also ate sparingly of leg tendons, moose intestines, and moose brains lest his quickness and resistance to fatigue become impaired. The successful tracking of large game depended on speed. No grease taboos were known. Except during menstruation when a woman avoided fresh meat, women ate the same foods eaten by men. Avoidances designed to develop hunting power did not apply to women. As the informant explained, "Game don't want him, that woman." Dream animals played no part in the diet, not being eaten in whole or part. Some shamans never ate porcupine or beaver and others rejected the head of moose. These observances would seem to be auxiliary to the taboo on the meat of the animal sponsor or may represent a partial contradiction of that statement. Cohabitation taboos prior to hunting were denied.

Frances Lake Kaska. Attitudes toward the otter are described by Pike.[4]

A curious superstition prevails that if you kill an otter it is capable of causing much trouble by coming to life again in your stomach. Only three winters ago a Frances Lake woman lay at death's door with this malady, but she was saved by the timely arrival of the only medicine man left in the tribe. He seems to have diagnosed the case correctly at once, and holding a sheep's horn spoon to the patient's mouth, he proceeded to repeat a long incantation suitable to the occasion. As soon as he had finished, to the great joy of all the relatives who had gathered to see the death, three little otters dropped out into the spoon. The old lady recovered rapidly, and afterwards confessed to having stolen and eaten an otter that she had found in somebody else's beaver trap during a long period of starvation in the early summer.

Hunting rites included depositing an unidentified "medicine" on a moose track, either to attract the animal back to that spot or to make him more vulnerable to the hunter's arrow. After spreading other substances around a beaver house the hunter would sit down to await the appearance of the game. Scapulimancy could not be recalled. The wearing of animal figurines cut from bone insured success in hunting.

Sucking provided the commonest means of curing but other conceptions of illness coexisted with the notion of intrusion that sucking suggests. A young man carefully

[4] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 143. Field reports that "The Pelys and Little Salmons believe that very near all sickness comes from the otter and mink and if anybody kills one, they or some of their near relatives will get sick and die. If any should happen to kill an otter or mink and skin it, he generally will use some old knife and throw the knife away when he is finished. He believes by doing this he guards against getting sick as the sickness is in the knife. Also if you touch or kill a frog your limbs will lose their strength, and you will get poor. Your flesh will gradually waste away till you die." Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 6.